



THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF AMIDA (DIARBEKIR) AND EDESSA (URFA)

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Sometime in the early seventeenth century in Amida, an Armenian woman named Napat suffered the deaths of her parents and three sons. For their salvation and her own, Napat commissioned an illuminated Gospel and presented it to one of the major monasteries of the city. Now housed in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, the manuscript survives as a relic of the once large and thriving Armenian community active from the early medieval era to 1915.¹ The few medieval works that remain are scattered in libraries and museums in Armenia, Jerusalem, Europe, and the United States. The churches and monasteries of the region have also been destroyed, dramatically altered, or, as was often the case, converted into mosques. This essay traces some of the surviving works of art and architecture produced by Armenians in the region.

Although records of Armenians in Amida date back to the fifth century at least, the tradition of Armenian artistic activity in the region can be tentatively dated to the ninth century. According to local lore, the Bagratuni King Ashot I and a certain Bishop Movses made repairs at that time to a church in Amida founded by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius in the

¹ For bibliography of the manuscript (Ms W. 541), see *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Roger S. Wieck and Thomas F. Mathews (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 151; Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1973), pp. 56-62; Avedis Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), pp. 310-18.

seventh century.² While the structure no longer survives, some scholars have connected it to the renowned Ulu Jami. Constructed in the twelfth century, the mosque incorporates building materials from structures of various pre-Islamic periods.³ The capitals of the courtyard façades, in particular, with their rigid and heavily undercut foliage, are probably seventh century and may be spoils from the original Heraclian church. The nature and extent of the Armenian repairs are, however, not known.

Concrete evidence for Armenian artistic and architectural works in Amida date only from the Ottoman era. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, under the prelates Srapion and his successor Barsegh, the area gained renown as a center for manuscript production.⁴ Of the several artists active in the city at this time, the best known was Hovhannes, whose prolific career has been traced by Sirarpi Der Nersessian in more than ten manuscripts.⁵ The Gospel of Napat is among the works attributed to him. The codex is well preserved and prolifically illustrated, including canon tables, evangelist portraits, incipit (opening) pages, and marginal illustrations. The canon tables begin, as is customary, with the letter of

² For further discussion and bibliography of the Armenian churches of Amida, see Krikor Maksoudian, "Diyarbakir (Amida): Armenian Churches," in *Armenian Architecture: A Documented Photo-Archival Collection on Microfiche for the Study of Armenian Architecture of Transcaucasia and the Near and Middle East, from the Medieval Period Onwards*, project director Vazken L. Parsegian with forward by André Grabar (Zug, Switzerland: Inter-Documentation, 1980-1990), vol. VI, microfiche 103, A4-A6.

³ Commentary on this structure and further reading can be found in Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam (650-1250)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 300-01.

⁴ Nerses Akinian, "Barsegh v. Artsruni, episkopos Amiti ev veratesuch Mushi Arakelots vanki" [Barsegh vardapet Artsruni, Bishop of Amida and Superior of Mush's Monastery of the Apostles], *Handes Amsorya*, 70:9-12 (1956): cols. 417-51. See also Sirarpi Der Nersessian, "Npast me Amiti dprotsi patmutian [A Contribution on the History of the School of Amida], *Handes Amsorya*, 71:3-5 (1957): cols. 177-81. A discussion of manuscript production in Amida and a list of extant manuscripts is provided in Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 56-59.

⁵ For a discussion of Hovhannes (Yovhannēs), see Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, pp. 56, 59.

Eusebius of Caesarea to Carpius explaining the system of notations and the contents. Their bust-length portraits are framed within ornate headpieces, supported by thin columns with capitals featuring addorsed (back to back) lions. Around and above the structure are more animals and foliage, and birds of various kinds. These elements, as Der Nersessian has pointed out, reflect the use of Cilician models, such as the Gospel of 1262 painted by Toros Roslin.⁶ A close comparison, for instance, can be drawn between canon table 10 (folio 8 recto, Fig. 1) of the Amida manuscript and canons 7-8 (folio 8 recto) from the Roslin Gospel.⁷ In general design, the headpieces are quite similar: in both, three strips radiate from a central medallion, weaving in and out of an arch decorated with a zig-zag pattern. Other common elements include the insertion of beasts (evangelist symbols?) in the column capitals, and the animated and abundant marginalia, composed mainly of avian life. In both, a variety of birds appears on top and alongside of the headpieces.

Yet a few critical distinctions may be drawn between the two pages. While the Cilician birds and beasts are rendered in a lively and lifelike manner, they are formulated in symmetrical arrangements: above the headpiece, rooster confronts rooster, while alongside the columns, identical peacocks turn their heads towards the edges of the page. The Amida motifs, by contrast, are mismatched: while the left column is flanked by a large single bird atop a standing grapevine, a date palm appears at the right, forming a perch for three small birds. Another bird appears against the trunk of the palm, while a small quadruped (cat?) crouches below. Above the headpiece, the formality of the Cilician Gospel again gives way, as long-beaked birds surround a central cross in a variety of attitudes, feasting on fish. In this way, the graceful choreography of the Cilician model has been transformed to suggest a series of

⁶ Ibid., p. 60. The 1262 Gospel (Ms W. 539), also located in the Walters Art Gallery, is discussed by Der Nersessian in the same publication, pp. 10-30.

⁷ The Amida Canon is reproduced in Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, plate 183, fig. 274; the Cilician Canon appears in the same publication as plate 37, fig. 50.

bucolic vignettes which draw the eye around and up the page. Compositional differences are accompanied, moreover, by stylistic changes: the volumetric handling of forms has been abandoned in favor of dramatic linearity in which elements are sparsely modeled but emphatically outlined. This approach—graceful, graphic, aesthetic—is often found in late medieval manuscripts of Greater Armenia.

Each of the Gospel texts begins with a full-page image of the author. In the portrait of Mark (folio 70 verso, Fig. 2), the evangelist appears seated and writing his text, conforming to common visual tradition. The page also exhibits, however, several distinctive elements, as a comparison with contemporary manuscript painting from Sebastia (Sivas) illustrates.⁸ In the evangelist portraits of a seventeenth-century manuscript from Sebastia (Freer Gallery Ms 36.15), the human form is fully circumscribed within its painted frame. The Amida evangelist, however, has grown to monumental proportions, appearing to break out of the confines of the visual field. The painter has also devised interesting solutions to accommodating the outsized author. He has added a carpet to carry Mark's dropped right foot, while a pointed arch extends the upper center of the image to frame his halo.⁹ Voluminous folds of drapery further emphasize the bulk of the evangelist. Highlighting the curves of the upper arm and thigh, the cloth seems to take on a life of its own, bunching and swirling on the knees and below the right leg. The illusion of monumentality is also created through the simplicity of the palette, composed of gem-like blues and rose. These hues also harmonize well with the corresponding incipit page, in which the headpiece and margins are ornamented in blue, purple, and green. There, golden lions, the symbol of Mark, appear multiple times: in the main arch, frolicking above the headpiece,

⁸ Freer Gallery, Ms 36.15. See Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: The Smithsonian, 1963), pp. 92-93.

⁹ While a comprehensive study of framing devices in Armenian manuscript illumination has yet to be undertaken, see a discussion of similar issues in Byzantium: Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

and, as a pair, forming the first initial (*S*) of the text. The incipit of John (folio 183 recto, Fig. 3) is even more animated, with an elaborate headpiece framing a medallion of Christ Emmanuel. The eagle, symbol of John, is repeated four times. Most striking is the largest version, in the arch of the headpiece, where the eagle clutches the Gospel text in its talons. The large, dark bird, with its beady eyes and open beak, is painted as though emerging from behind the headpiece, adding a subtly menacing presence to the page.

The text is also decorated with several marginal illustrations. While these are primarily non-figural, a few scenes from the life of Christ are also included. On folio 164 recto, Christ, shown in three-quarters length, is healing the Blind Man of Jericho. Behind the two, a road winds back to the city, which is rendered with fortifications and domed structures. Another marginal image (folio 110 verso, Fig. 4) depicts the risen Christ, with dark hair and beard, and loose, classicizing drapery. As Thomas Mathews has pointed out, the image finds the closest parallels in Western art, most likely made available through the dissemination of printed books in the Ottoman Empire at this time.¹⁰

As is characteristic of Armenian manuscript illumination, the codex ends with a colophon. In the text, Hovhannes requests the remembrance of those who helped him:

[I beseech] all who encounter this holy illuminated garden . . .
 . whether reading it or copying it . . . remember . . . my
 godfather, Lord Abraham, the blessed old cleric who taught
 me the scribal art and who has lain paralyzed for [?] years .
 . .[and] . . . my teacher, Lord Astuatsatur, the secretary, and
 rank him among the chief scribes.¹¹

This poignant account gives us a sense of the close relationship between the painter and his teacher.

¹⁰ Wieck and Mathews, *Treasures in Heaven*, p. 152. On Western ideas in later Armenian manuscript illumination, see Helen C. Evans and Sylvie L. Merian, "The Final Centuries: Armenian Manuscripts of the Diaspora," *Treasures in Heaven*, pp. 115-23.

¹¹ From the reprint and translation in *Treasures in Heaven*, p. 152.

Like many Armenian illuminators, moreover, Hovhannes was proficient in other skills of the book. According to his own testimony, the artist bound several of the manuscripts which he illustrated. He was also requested to restore older works, such as a Gospel from 1497, entrusted to him by a certain Khachatur, a resident of Julfa, indicating that his reputation spread far beyond Amida. The binding and restoring of old manuscripts was one important way in which Hovhannes became acquainted with older artistic traditions. This is the case with a text of the *Lives of the Desert Fathers* produced in the Crimea in the fifteenth century and subsequently taken to Jerusalem.¹² The manuscript arrived in Amida in the early seventeenth century, at which time Hovhannes made a copy. The codex has unfortunately been lost; the original manuscript, however, made a second trip to Amida in 1615, brought by a certain Minas of Theodosiopolis (Karin, now Erzerum). Minas asked Hovhannes to repair it, and after doing so, the artist proceeded to make a second copy, which is now housed in the British Library. That the manuscript made two separate voyages to Amida, for the purposes of both duplication and restoration, has been interpreted by Der Nersessian as further proof of Hovhannes high reputation.¹³

Architectural projects were also initiated in the early Ottoman era, directly after the conquest of the region in 1515. Building campaigns were undertaken with the permission of Ottoman authorities, who had converted several of the older Armenian churches into mosques. One of the churches targeted for Ottoman conversion was the cathedral of Surb Toros, which became a mosque in 1518.¹⁴ Now known as the Kurdunlu Jami, the building consists of a large rectangular

¹² For art-historical commentary on the Armenian tradition of the *Lives*, see Nira Stone, *The Kaffa Lives of the Desert Fathers: A Study in Armenian Manuscript Illumination* (Louvain: Peeters, 1997); Ioanna Rapti, "Enluminure arménienne en Crimée génoise XIV^e-XV^e siècles: Origines et développement d'un centre provincial de production livresque," Ph.D dissertation, Sorbonne, 1999.

¹³ Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Armenian Architecture*, vol. VI, microfiche 103, A5. See also Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman* (Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1992), p. 393.

hall surmounted by a broad drum and dome. The extent of the renovations is unclear from documentary photographs; the superstructure, however, is most likely Ottoman: the large hemispherical dome, resting on a shallow drum, is reminiscent of contemporary Turkish structures.

Sometime after 1518, the Armenian community constructed the church of Surb Kirakos. In the seventeenth century, the structure underwent major renovations and additions, including the insertion of a *gavit* or forehall. In 1818 and 1882, fires destroyed portions of the complex, which was rebuilt and still survives. At the west side of the church was a tall bell tower (Fig. 5, right). The building, however, does not resemble earlier Armenian examples such as the thirteenth-century tower from the monastery of Haghpat. Its tall, slim proportions, multiple stories, and tapering dome find closer company, rather, in nearby minarets. With its prominent position on the horizon, the tower must have made an aggressive statement about the presence of an Armenian community in Amida/Diarbekir. Such assertiveness is particularly striking in light of the strict control exercised by the Ottoman authorities over the use of bell towers, which, like minarets, imposed their presence not only over the skyline but also over the sounds of the city. The construction was replaced in 1913 by a tower in the neo-Gothic style, which was bombarded by the Turkish army in 1915 (Fig. 5, left).¹⁵

Another important Armenian monument in the region is the Armenian Catholic church of Chunkush, lying to the northwest of Diarbekir (Fig. 6).¹⁶ The church formed part of a large, high-walled complex that included a college. Extant photographs suggest that the structure adopted traditional Armenian architectural forms, indicated by the low, but distinctly conical profile of the roof and the cylindrical drum. The massiveness of the complex attests to the wealth of Armenians in the region.

¹⁵ *Armenian Architecture*, vol. VI, microfiche 103, A5.

¹⁶ See Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 410-11.

Prosperity among some *Dikranagerdtsi* Armenians is also indicated by evidence from textiles, as may be illustrated by a wedding dress dating to the late nineteenth century. Now located in the Armenian Library and Museum of America, the gown is hand-sewn of rich blue and gold silk (Fig. 7).¹⁷ The sleeves are lined with purple fabric and are exceptionally long, as in traditional dress. While the place of production is unknown, it is instructive that such sumptuous and finely-worked clothing was commissioned by, and thus within the means of local Armenian residents. As with the tradition of manuscript illumination and architectural projects, such textiles reflect a once prosperous and self-confident community.

The Art and Architecture of the Armenian Community in Edessa

Exploring the artistic production of Armenians in Edessa, as in the case of Amida, is by nature a forensic task. The visual culture of this community is neither well-preserved nor well-published. Surviving works are nevertheless diverse, including fortifications, churches, and manuscripts, providing evidence of a once affluent and cosmopolitan world. Although the earliest works do not predate the eleventh century, sources attest to Armenians in Edessa as early as the fifth century. In 1095, the community grew considerably when the Armenian prince Toros took the city from the Seljuks. After his death just two years later, the city formed part of a Crusader state ruled by Frankish counts.¹⁸

At this time, Edessa must have contained some medieval Armenian churches, which have since vanished. It is therefore to the typically more durable genre of military architecture that one may find some clue to Armenian activity. Founded most likely in the Roman era, the complex of fortifications at Edessa was enlarged and rebuilt by later inhabitants, including

¹⁷ Armenian Library and Museum of America (ALMA), Watertown, Massachusetts, accession no. 89-19. Gift of Edward G. Stambouljan.

¹⁸ For further discussion and bibliography on the Armenian community of Edessa, see *Armenian Architecture*, vol. V, microfiche 125, A3104.

Byzantines, Armenians, Seljuks, and Ottomans. Concrete evidence for Armenian participation in the construction is offered by an Armenian inscription on a tower of the citadel, which mentions a restoration in 1122 under the Crusader Count Jocelin.¹⁹ Although it is impossible precisely to calculate the extent of Armenian work, the inscription's location on round, rather than polygonal towers, may be instructive. Robert Edwards has argued that such round towers are characteristic of the Armenian style of fortification architecture.²⁰

An illuminated Gospel, produced during the Crusader era, offers clearer evidence for Armenian artistic production in Edessa. As indicated in the colophon, it was commissioned in 1161 by a certain Kristapor and his wife. Now located at the University of Michigan (Ms 141), the manuscript constitutes, to my knowledge, the only example of Armenian illumination from Edessa in an American public collection.²¹ It thus provides rare and valuable insight into a tradition that has almost disappeared from view.

As is customary, the Gospel begins with a set of canon tables (folios 2 verso-7) framed by decorative arches supported on columns. Small trees rendered in a schematic style flank the arches, which are enlivened with a variety of floral and geometric decoration. Birds of various types perch on the headpieces: on one page, a pair of partridges affront a central fountain, referring visually to the heavenly paradise (Fig. 8). Both the architecture and the fowl are infused with rich color, including blue, red, green, and yellow. In their format and specific motifs, the Edessan Canons conform to the general

¹⁹ Ibid. See also Hansgerd Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit in der Grafschaft Edessa und im Königreich Kleinarmenien* (Bonn: Habelt, 1976), pp. 31-35.

²⁰ R.W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1987). See a critical response to this assessment in Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Louvain: Peeters, 2001).

²¹ The manuscript is included in the catalogue of *Treasures in Heaven* (no. 146). In the entry, Mathews provides information regarding the manuscript's physical state, circumstances of production, and the iconography and style of the illuminations. A bibliography is also included.

characteristics of Armenian manuscript illumination. Comparison with contemporary canon tables from Greater Armenia, however, reveal some notable points of differentiation. The latter manuscript tradition offers much richer treatment of ornament, including additional columns, larger and longer headpieces, and more abundant and exuberant marginalia. The manuscript from Edessa is by contrast restrained; decoration is limited to two small trees and a headpiece, and these forms are treated with simplicity and symmetry. The more attenuated proportions of the columns also contribute to the austerity of the page.

A sense of visual control also characterizes the "first word" pages and evangelist portraits. On the incipit page of Mark, the initial is limited to the first letter of the text and is set against an expanse of empty page (Fig. 9). Opposite the incipit, the evangelist portrait (Fig. 10) presents the author according to custom: in full length and seated before a tall lectern, much like the evangelist portrait in a Gospel of the same century produced in Hromkla (Matenadaran Ms 7737).²² The animation of the latter, created by an abundance of forms and ornament, are not echoed in the Edessa codex, where numerous compositional elements have been omitted or reduced. The unusually long arms and tiny feet of the Edessan evangelist moreover suggest that the painter was less concerned with conveying lifelike proportions and volumes. Linear designs on the carpet and lectern reveal instead an interest for surface pattern and rich color. In place of an elaborate architectural frame, the evangelist is backed by concentrated bands of blue and deep green. The crimson frame and lemon yellow of the saint's halo also add to the vibrant effects of the page. These hues, common to the palette of Greater Armenia, are mineral in origin, composed of substances including ultramarine, vermilion, and orpiment (king's yellow). It has been suggested that the use of yellow instead of gold may be a marker of the inferior economic status of the patron; however, the absence of local comparative material limits conclusive remarks on this

²² Reproduced in Lydia Dournovo, *Armenian Miniatures* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1961), p. 77.

issue.²³ The commission itself nevertheless reflects an expenditure of some substance, and may be an indicator of the relative stability enjoyed by Armenians in Edessa in the middle of the twelfth century.

The restraint of the manuscript finds close kin in Byzantine painting, as Thomas Mathews has observed. Comparison with an incipit from an eleventh-century Gospel from Constantinople reveals a similar layout of white fields punctuated by rich, dense ornament. The pi-shaped headpiece of the Edessa manuscript may also offer evidence of Byzantine prototypes. Such similarities between the two traditions have led Mathews to suggest that Edessa was a center for a Byzantinizing school of Armenian illumination.²⁴ Although it is difficult to draw conclusions based on the scarcity of Edessan examples, common elements are compelling and certainly suggest the presence of Byzantine models in the city. This relationship is particularly significant when one considers that the famous tradition of Cilician painting, which also appropriated Byzantine ideas, emerged after that of Edessa. The Michigan Gospel, discussed above, was produced ten years before the first dated Cilician manuscript.

Of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, very little illumination from Edessa survives. Activity seems to have resumed in the sixteenth century, when the city acquired a number of manuscripts from Greater Armenia, as a series of codices in the British Library demonstrates. One thirteenth-century manuscript from Arjesh (Ms 2679) was bequeathed to the Church of Surb Astvatsatsin in Edessa in 1553 by a certain Davit, who purchased the manuscript and adorned it with silver.²⁵ Bookstamps, located on several of the folios, read "*taghakan khorhurd Yedesia 1866*" (parish council, Edessa, 1866). Another manuscript (Ms 2680) produced at Karbi in

²³ Wieck and Mathews, *Treasures in Heaven*, p. 146.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ For discussion of this manuscript and others of the "Vaspurakan School," see Vrej Nersessian, *Armenian Illuminated Gospel Books* (London: The British Library, 1987), pp. 29-31.

1311 bears the same stamp, but is dated 1868.²⁶ Although one might be tempted to view such marks as disfigurements of the original work, they must have offered the owner of the book a measure of security by providing a visual sign of possession. For modern historians, they are also of great value, furnishing critical information regarding provenance.

While book stamps and colophons provide the historian with tools for the history of manuscript illumination in Edessa, the architecture of Armenians in the city is more difficult to assess. Medieval churches were generally destroyed, radically rebuilt, or converted into mosques. However, three principal sites can be discerned, with the assistance of documentary photographs.²⁷ Of the three, the Monastery of Surb Sargis is perhaps the oldest and is traditionally associated with the burial site of Saint Ephrem the Syrian. Surrounded by a high enclosure wall, the complex underwent several renovations and additions, including the construction of an orphanage after the Hamidian massacres of 1895. The structures depicted in photographic documentation appear to be post-medieval. The main domes of the church employ familiar Ottoman building forms in their hemispherical shapes and shallow drums (Fig. 11). The bell tower, located within the monastery courtyard, presents a profusion of styles (Fig. 12): the open canopy and the conical roof recall medieval Armenian bell towers, while the pointed gables of the second story appear neo-Gothic. The structure's straight balustrade, by contrast, recalls the neo-classical style commonly used in Turkey, and the pointed arches of its lowest story may be connected to the Islamic tradition.

The largest Armenian church in Edessa was the Cathedral of Surb Astvatsatsin (Fig. 13). Built in 1847 and dedicated to the Mother of God, the structure was entirely rebuilt in 1849 with a grant from the Catholicos of Cilicia and funds collected from Armenians in Edessa. As simple in proportions as it was massive in size, the structure bore a plain façade, whose walls

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 84-85 and pl. XII.

²⁷ See Kévorkian and Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire ottoman*, pp. 323-37.

were relieved only by a few bands of polychrome brickwork, three round windows, and shallow gables expressing the three-aisled division of the interior. One documentary photograph reveals its fate, depicting workmen busy converting it for use as a mosque.

These structures present the last examples of Armenian art in the city before 1915. Like medieval manuscripts and fortifications, they are products of a long tradition of Armenian culture in Edessa, and serve as eloquent reminders of the prominence and sophistication of a now extinguished community.

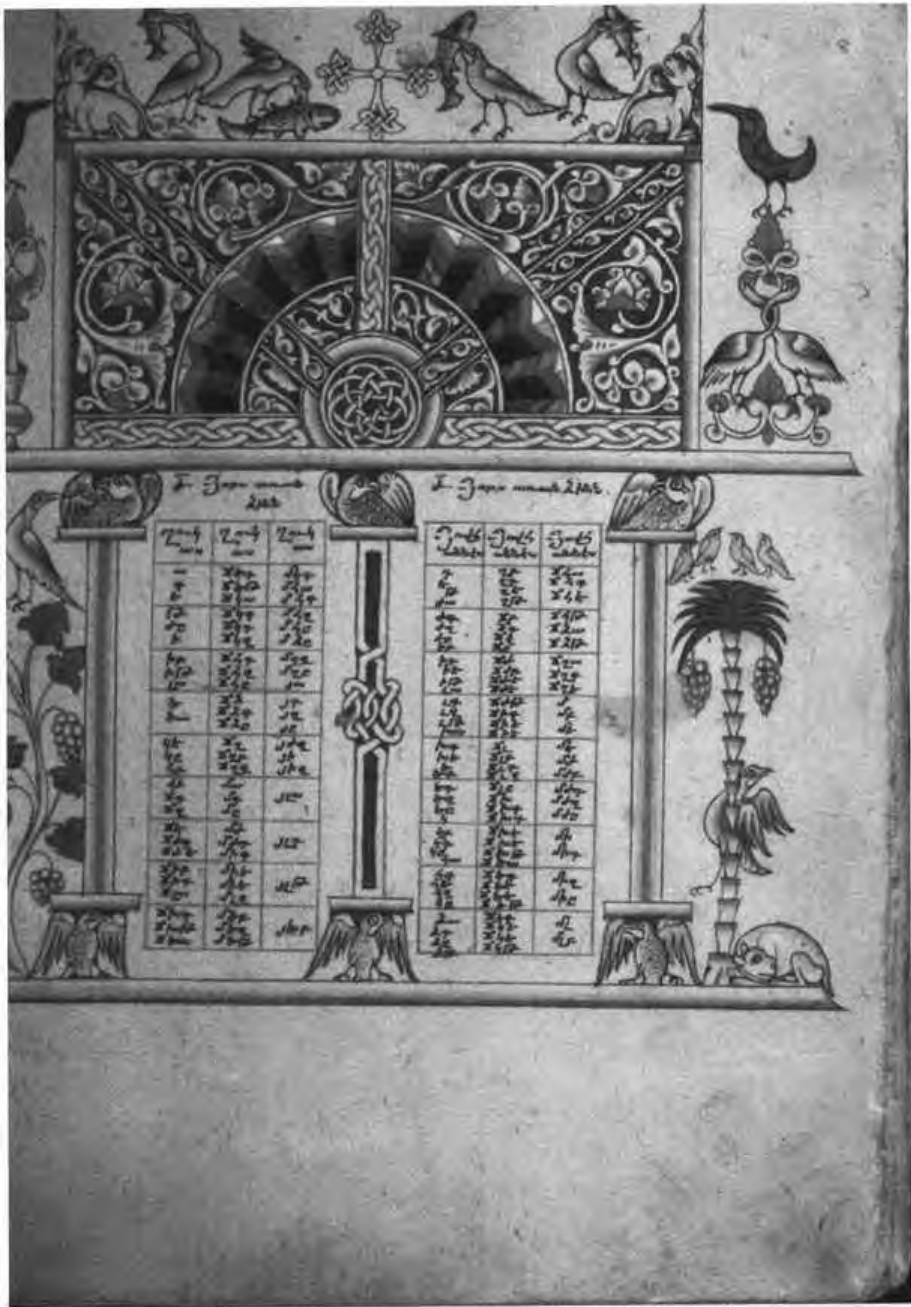


Fig. 1. Canon Table: Armenian Gospel from Amida



Fig. 2. Mark: Armenian Gospel from Amida



Fig. 3. Incipit of John: Armenian Gospel from Amida



Fig. 4. The Risen Christ: Armenian Gospel from Amida

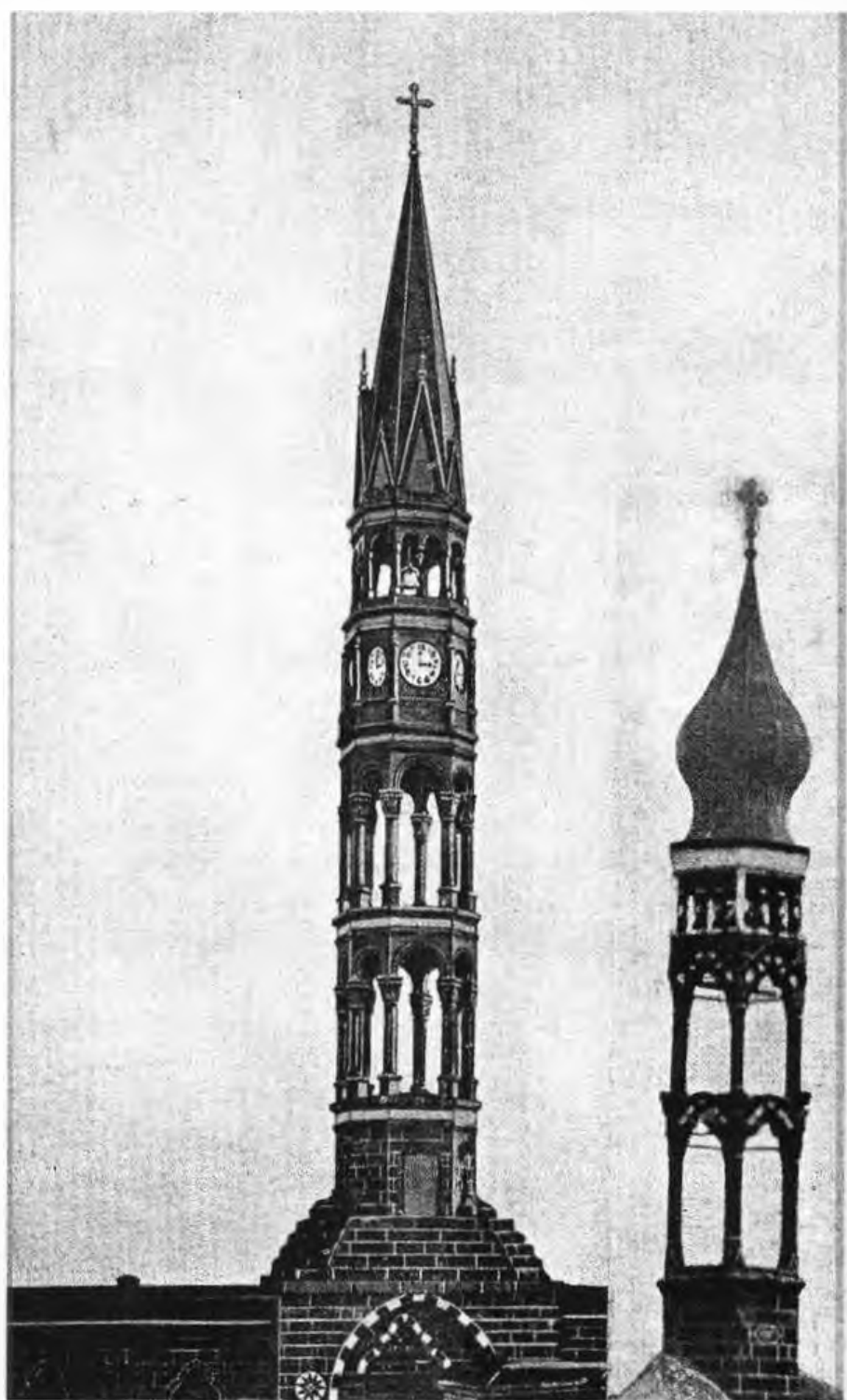


Fig. 5. Amida: Surb Kirakos, Bell Towers, 1882 (right) and 1913 (left)



Fig. 6. Chunkush: Armenian Catholic Church



Fig. 7. *Dikranagerdtsi* Wedding Dress

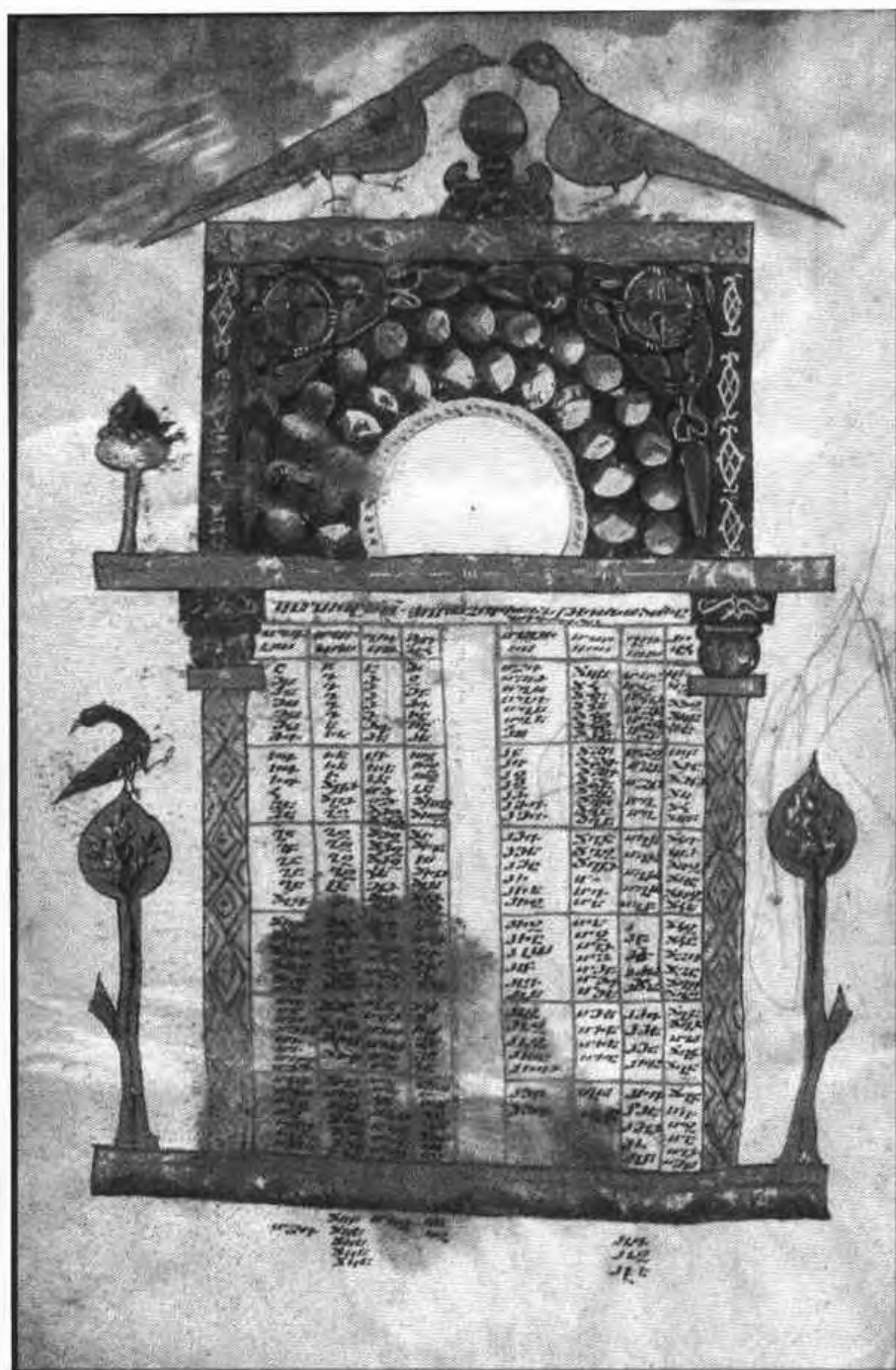


Fig. 8. Canon Table: Armenian Gospel from Edessa



Fig. 9. Incipit Page of Mark: Armenian Gospel from Edessa



Fig. 10. Mark: Armenian Gospel from Edessa



Fig. 11. Edessa: Monastery of Surb Sargis

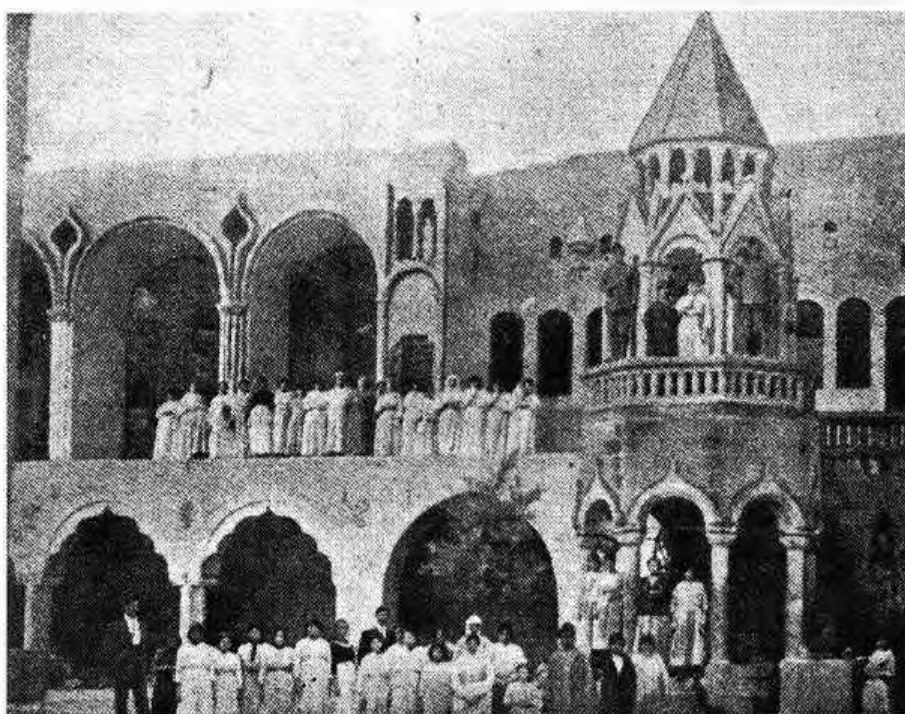


Fig. 12. Edessa: Surb Sargis, Bell Tower

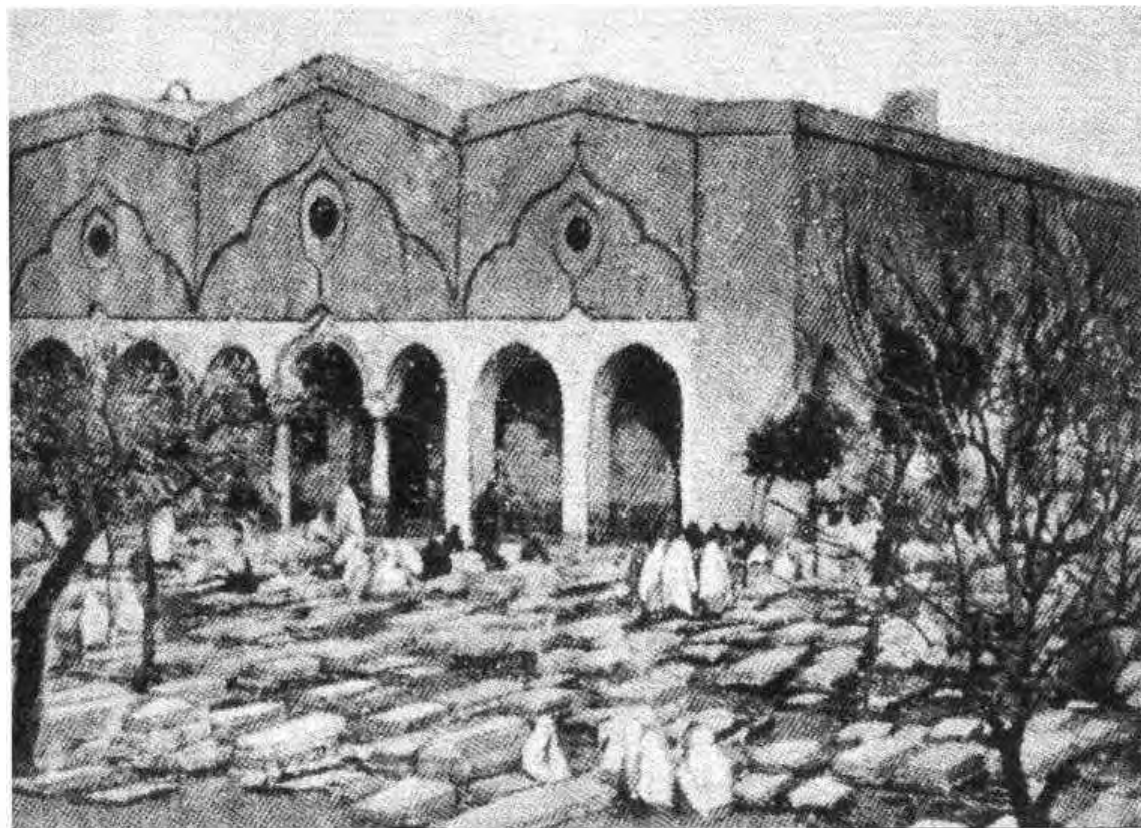


Fig. 13. Edessa: Armenian Cathedral